and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youths and children -- went altogether naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [277]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

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[362] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised 621 but one large new house, with a thatch covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[353] We found no one inside the house but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit: as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[354] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

342 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the losenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away
609 leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the headwaters of the Cadereri, I met a young family. The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [80] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos. --
The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good
hospitality.

After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadereri, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The Maué Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the maloca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemos, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short, fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemos at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil; living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss; fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

609 [576] himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

[591] Then I went into one end of the large house which is occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

[574] I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

[562 342] Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ehçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhê."

513 534 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn all through the night in their quarters or ehçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

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or kin, *barĭ'pnye*. The Xingú Mundurucú are also called by the Tapajós Mundurucú *Tyurari-rixat*, "Tauarirana tribe or clan", as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of tauarirana bark. The linguistically related Wiaunyen are called *i baarem*, "hidden"—hidden in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Mutum.

b. By what names are the Mundurucú known to other tribes? These names differ much. The Mundurucú are called among the Apiacá, their friends, by the name of Parí, or Itāwā't, or Madurukú; among the Bacahiri, Mandurukú; among the Chipáya, Karuriá; among the Juruna, Kaluriá; among the Kuruáya, Karudiat (compare Mundurucuan *Karu-rixat*, Red Arara sib); among the Matanawí, Paicí; among the Múra, Patisi; among the To:gapi't, Tcuruvi (?); among the Pareci, Saruma (see infra); among the Torá, Kaubek; among a more distant tribe, Akékakuré. Among the Dyurupêa, a "giant" Indian tribe, the Mundurucú are called Tapêai'n. The Dyurupêa say: "When we come, they cry *tapêai'n* and then flee". The reference is here to the tribe which the Apiacá call Urupêá. The Dyurupêa must speak Apiacá. In Apiacá, *tapiai'n*, *tapêai'n*, means "Indian, stranger". Among the Widadawat, the Mundurucú are called Tupaiyu'n, so the Mundurucú say.

c. How are the Mundurucú called by the "civilized" people? The most common designation is Mundurucú. Nothing certain is known about the origin or meaning of this name, so I shall not go into the matter here. They are also called Caras Pretas, "Black Faces", on account of the dark (not black) tattooing on their faces. Their third name is Paikise. The word comes from the Lingua Geral, a corrupted Tupi-dialect, and means "Father Knife", as the Mundurucú were known as head hunters, although not as cannibals.

In the State of Matto Grosso the Mundurucú were known as Sarumá (see supra). As Von den Steinen noted, they lived there next to the Apiacá, and disturbed all the tribes of the Arinos and Xingú region by their attacks.

d. How do the Mundurucú call outsiders? Every non-Mundurucú, be he a "Brown-shirt" or be he some one with a pretension to a veneer of culture, is a *pariwat*, a foreigner, to the "headhunters". But of course the Mundurucú living on the

[see errata sheet, Category 116, p. 57A – Analyst]

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609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pyc* "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracererս. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nye*, the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe-culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [141] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [223] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

742 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, Category III, p. 5 — A.-Analyst]

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"In olden days the sibs, *rirwat*, lived very far apart from one another. They warred among themselves. Then they became brothers.[3] Karusakaibê said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibê there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibê wey ebai*, "Karusakaibê is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *êksa*, while the men lived in the Big House, *ẽkqa*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the mandioca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyubêri, the ruler of our people, Taiñbiru and Parawarê—found three *kaduke*. They took these wind instruments in a brook: they caught three little Jeju fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played: they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyubêri, that is Marimarebê and Mariburubê: 'Let us take the *kaduke* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kaduke* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played.[1A]

[3] Wianyen of Wituri appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Mundurucú concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

[1A] [See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A.--Analyst]

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175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

361 [161] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

619 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

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578 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

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1 [ie. The middle of the nineteenth century.--Analyst]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

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727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return
765 of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order
[616] for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the
[578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society,
554 the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses
784 connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was
554 referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary,"
[609] an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's
[825] power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the headhunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit
224 protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
● [609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

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439 466 648 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who gives valued objects and who must be given something in return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 609 648 The client-patron relationship applies also to that between the Mundurucú and all white men of similar prestige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mundurucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

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439 648 484 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savannahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains